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OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

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SUBJECT: NIE-50: PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN GERMANY THROUGH 1952 (For consideration by the Board)

THE PROBLEM

To estimate the current situation and probable political, economic, scientific, and military developments in Fastern
Germany through 1952.

ASSUMPTIONS

1. That there will not be general war within the period of the estimate.

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NIE-50: TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
THE I	PROBLEM	- 1
assua	PTIONS	- 1
ı.	THE SOVIET PROGRAM FOR EASTERN GERMANY	- 2
II.	PROBABLE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	- 5
	Current Political Situation a. Internal Political Situation b. Position within the Orbit Of Eastern General	- 5 - 7
	Probable Political Developments in 1952 a. Internal Political Situation b. Position within the Orbit of Restorn Carrany	- 8 - 10
III.		- 10
	Five Year Plan	- 10
	Current Economic Situation	- 12
	Eastern German Economic Contributions to Soviet Strength	- 14
,	Probable Economic Developments in 1952	- 19
	Limitations on Eastern German Economic Capabilities	
IV.	PROBABLE SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS	- 21
	Current Scientific Situation	- 21
	Probable Scientific Developments	- 23
v.	PROBABLE MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS -	- 23
•	East/German Armed Forces a. Ground Forces b. Air Force c. Naval Force	- 23 - 24 - 24
	Soviet Occupation Forces	- 25
CONC	TRITONS	- 27

CONCLUSIONS

At end of paper, following the discussion.

DISCUSSION

I. THE SOVIET PROCRAM FOR EASTERN GERMANT

1. During the years of Soviet occupation, the USSR in its determination to exact economic retribution for destruction in the USSR has ruthlessly extracted from Eastern Germany the immediately obtainable economic benefits. This has been accomplished, often at the cost of serious damage to the Soviet political program, by means of dismantlement, reparations deliveries from current production, and the establishment of Soviet-owned industrial companies (SAG's), which still own and operate many of the principal industrial enterprises of Eastern Germany. The dismantling of German plants ceased in 1948, but Soviet exploitation has been reorganized and made permanent under a revised program for Eastern Germany which began to take form late in 1948 and which became formal with the establishment in October 1949 of the German Democratic Republic (GER).

Eastern Germany includes the Soviet Zone of Germany and the Soviet Sector of Berlin. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) does not include the Soviet Sector of Berlin.

- 2. Soviet policy and Soviet actions since 1949, as distinct from Soviet propaganda, indicate that the Soviet objective in Eastern Germany is the establishment of a highly industrialized Communist state under Soviet control. This state will be governed by a Communist Party subservient to the Kremlin, and the political system and economic and social structure of that state will resemble those of the so-called People's Democracies. Eastern Germany will be integrated into the Soviet Orbit, and it will at the same time serve as a base from which the drive for a unified Soviet Germany may be maintained.
- 3. The establishment of a Soviet Satellite state in Eastern Germany assures the Kremlin of the capability of preventing the unification of Germany on terms not favorable to the USSR. Moreover, the reorganization of the political and economic structure of Eastern Germany and the integration of Eastern Germany into the Soviet Orbit are probably considered by the Kremlin, not as permanent barriers to German unity, but as steps toward the ultimate formation of a unified Soviet Germany and the incorporation of that Germany into the Soviet system.

control over all as Germany because the incorporation of a unified Soviet Germany into the Soviet Orbit would add to the Orbit the geographical advantages and the immense wealth in skilled manpower, industrial facilities, scientific capabilities, and natural resources of all of Germany and would also eliminate the danger of another German-led invasion of the USSR. Because a unified Soviet Germany is at least temporarily unobtainable, the current Soviet program for Western Germany Essees to delay and if possible to prevent the integration of Western Germany into the Western system and the rearmament of Western Germany.

We do not believe that

5. HELECTRICAL AND ADDRESS OF SUPERIOR ADDRESS OF SUPERIOR AND ADDRESS OF SUPERIOR ADDRESS OF

NIE-53, now in process, is an examination of Soviet intentions toward Germany.

6. The obvious contradictions in Soviet policy toward Germany as a whole and toward Eastern Germany in particular are due not only to the prior claims of reparations but also to the Soviet effort to attain two apparently contradictory objectives at the same time: the control and reorganization

- 18 -

along Soviet lines of Eastern Germany, and a unified Soviet Germany. Soviet progress toward the first of these two objectives has provided the USSR concrete political, economic, and military advantages, but it has also helped to alienate the West and to prevent Soviet success in attaining the second objective. However, the Kremlin must be aware that a unified Germany could not now be attained without general war, that the difficulties involved in the Western program for the integration into the Western system and the rearmament of Western Germany are numerous and complex, and that it has a wide variety of political weapons for use in delaying or preventing achievement by the West of its objectives.

II. PROBABLE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Current Political Situation

a. Internal Political Situation

7. Soviet control over Eastern Germany is virtually complete and is assured by the instruments and techniques described in NIE-33, Soviet Control of the European Satellites and Their Economic and Military Contributions to Soviet Power through Mid-1953.

-5-

SECRET

- 8. After the establishment of the GDR in October 1949, the Soviet Military Administration was succeeded by the smaller and more centralized Soviet Control Commission, the functions of which are governing the Soviet Sector of Berlin and maintaining general supervision over the Eastern German regime.

 As Soviet political control of Eastern Germany became less overt, the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party (SED) acquired all key positions and became the subservient executor of Soviet policy, with probably little or no influence in shaping that policy.
- Germany is a democratic multi-party state, the Communists have parmitted the existence of purged, bourgeois political parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The Communists in 1948 created two new parties, the Democratic Peasants Party and the National Democratic Party, to widen their support among elements of the population reductant to join the SED or not desired within the SED. All political parties in 1949 were forced into a Entional Front controlled by the SED. The Communists use members of the other parties to disseminate both covert and but this technique has evert propaganda to Western Germany, the little technique has had gradually diminishing effectiveness.

the Kremlin in premoting the unity compaign, which in 1948 replaced anti-Maziem as the principal element of the Communist line.

the vast majority of the

10. We estimate that approximation of the approximation of the approximation of the present regime. Popular support of the regime has increased slightly in the last two years, due primarily to the regime's monopoly of education, to the slow but steady rise in the standard of living, and to greater Soviet success in concealing controls and exploitation.

Passive acceptance is general, and there is no evidence of strong, organized opposition.

11. The regime has directed its principal efforts toward the group between the ages of 6 and 25, which comprises one-third of the population and the great majority of which has never lived under a democratic government. About one-half of the youth are members of Communist organizations. Perhaps a quarter of the youth has been favorably influenced by the benefits and opportunities granted and the pressures applied.

of Eastern Germany b. Position/within the Orbit

12. The integration of Eastern Germany into the Soviet Orbit has made substantial progress during the past

two years. Eastern Germany is a member of the Council of
Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA), an organization established
and controlled by the USSR to help coordinate the economics
of the Satellites. It has trade agreements, cultural accords,
and treatics of friendship with the USSR and with most of the
Satellites, and it has a trade agreement with Communist China.
However, it does not have mutual assistance pacts with the
USSR or with any of the Satellites, and it is not a formal
member of the Cominform, although it sends observers to Cominform meetings and appearently maintains permanent representatives
at the Secretariat in Bucharest.

Probable Political Developments in 1952

a. Internal Political Situation

instruction of the regime receives from the youth will probably increase.

ocntimus their subscrivent existence, and the National Front will remain. The appeal of the mass organizations controlled by the SED will probably be heightened by the increase of privileges connected with membership, and it will probably become increasingly difficult for Eastern Germans to avoid participation in these organizations without incurring serious political and economic penalties.

throughout 1952 constitute irritations for the Kremlin in
Eastern Germany but which will not jeoperdize Soviet authority.
Three of these — the desire for a unified Germany, the traditional German attitude toward the Russians and other Slave, and a strong sense of identification with the West — derive from German history. Four — the loss of the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse, the imposition of the Soviet system, reparations and general Soviet exploitation of the area, and the attraction supplied by the freedom and greater prosperity enjoyed by Western Germany — are direct products of the recent changes.

16. The Eastern German security forces, which have been trained and which are infiltrated and controlled by experienced Soviet personnel, will probably be strengthened in 1952. The HVD will probably continue to operate in Eastern

Garmany. The Kremlin and its assistants have shown such skill and resolution in coping with unrest and in discovering and obliterating hostile forces that open opposition to the regime would probably not develop in 1952 even if the Soviet occupation and security forces were withdrawn.

b. Position of Eastern Gurany within the Orbit

to raise Eastern Germany from its present approximately to the rank held by the other Satellites within the Orbit.

However, there is little likelihood that it will conclude a unilateral treaty of peace with Eastern Germany until it has decided that it cannot prevent the integration of Western Germany into the Western system and the rearmament of Western Germany. We do not believe the Kremlin will reach this conclusion in 1952. Even if the Kremlin should conclude a peace treaty with Eastern Germany, it is probable that the occupation forces would remain on "request" of the GDR and that the Kremlin would not conclude a mutual assistance past with Eastern Germany.

III. PROBABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Five Year Plan

18. The Five Year Plan for 1951-1955, announced originally in July 1950 and revised in November 1951, reveals quite

clearly that the organization of the Eastern German economy is modelled on the Soviet pattern and that the principal Soviet economic objectives for Eastern Germany for the next few years are the following:

ticularly of those heavy industries equipped to contribute directly or indirectly to armsment production or capable of easy conversion to armsment production. The average annual gross investment in industry under the Plan is scheduled to exceed about A5 the 1936 investment in industry in this area by himpercent, and industrial production is scheduled to increase 90 percent over the 1950 level by 1955. Emphasis has been placed not only upon the machine construction and metallurgical industries, but upon those enterprises manufacturing the larger and more important industrial products.

b. The economic dependence of Eastern Germany upon the USSR and sharp reduction of its current dependence upon the West. The rew materials, such as coke and iron ore, and the industrial machinery and parts which were previously obtained from the West are to be provided now by the Orbit or to be produced by Eastern Germany itself. Thus, machine tool construction in 1955 is scheduled to be 347 persent of the 1950 output, making Eastern Germany independent from the West for its machine tools and parts.

complete integration of the Eastern German economy into that of the Soviet Orbit. The Plan and subsequent trade agreements tie the Eastern German economy firmly to that of the Orbit and ensure maximum Eastern German contribution of its immediate economic resources and production to Orbit economic and military strength. Thus, the four-year trade agreement signed on 27 September 1951 by the USSR and the CDR provides for extensive Soviet exports of grain, coke, iron ore, and pig iron to this Satellite and for constantly increasing Eastern German exports to the USSR of machinery, electro-engineering equipment, precision instruments, and liquid fuels.

The Current Economic Situation

19. Eastern Germany constitutes roughly one-third of Potsdam issue Germany in total area, population, arable land, and industrial capacity. It has been dependent upon Western Germany for some of its industrial equipment and basic raw materials. This dependence, Soviet dismantling, loss of access to Silesian and Western German coal fields, and extensive uncompensated deliveries to the USSR have hampered the attempt to restore the economy and to reorganize the economic structure. Recovery has been consistent since the Kremlin ceased removing capital equipment in 1948, when Eastern German industrial capacity had reached a low point of less than 50 percent that

of 1936. Industrial production in 1950 was estimated at 85 percent of the 1936 level, and production in 1951 probably equalled that of 1936. Considerable progress has already been made toward greater economic independence from the West. The share of the Soviet Orbit in the foreign trade of Eastern Germany amounted in 1950 to more than 80 percent and will almost certainly increase. However, the standard of living in 1951 was only two-thirds of the 1936 level, in spite of slight but steady improvement since 1949.

20. Progress toward nationalization of industry, a goal of the Eastern German regime, has been made easy by the traditional role played by the German state in the economy.

Heavy industry, transportation, and foreign trade are already under complete governmental control. According to official Eastern German figures, 68 percent of industrial production in 1950 came from state-owned and Soviet-owned installations, with the percentage much higher for certain individual industries, such as synthetic fuel. This figure was scheduled

If The Eastern German official statistics assert that industrial output in 1950 exceeded the 1936 level by 6 percent. The 1951 Plan scheduled an 18 percent increase in industrial output over 1950, making planned 1951 production 126 percent that of 1936.

to mount to 77 percent in 1951. Private industry and commerce now exist only under close regulation by the government, which controls investment and credit, allocates row materials and labor to individual plants, and maintains central authority over all subcontracting. Communist-controlled trade unions and discriminatory taxes are other weapons against private enterprise.

21. Agriculture is effectively controlled by the regime, although little effort has been made yet toward collectivization. Government allocation of seed and fertilizer, the Machine Lending Stations, the Farmers' Mutual Aid Society (a Communist-controlled farm cooperative), and discriminatory crop delivery quotas assure the regime's authority.

Restern Corman Propopio Contributions to Soviet Strength

obtaining from the West, especially from Western Germany, materials and equipment which are important to the Orbit war potential and which the USSR and the other Satellites find difficult to obtain directly. We estimate that at least one-half of the imports of Western German products are clandestine, and that a large portion, perhaps as much as one-half of the

total imports of Western German products are shipped directly to the USSR. The remaining materials and equipment are obtained for Eastern German industries, primarily those which deliver products to the USSR, and for the industries of the other Satellites.

deliveries remain outstanding characteristics of the Eastern German economy. Soviet-owned industrial enterprises (SAG's)1/contribute about 22 percent of the total net industrial production. They have almost a monopoly in the basic chemical industries and control about one-third of Eastern Germany's brown coal production, two-thirds of the potash production, one-half of the metallurgical capacity, one-half of cement capacity. Enterprise SAG plants control about 31 percent of the electric power generating capacity and produce about 45 percent of the electric power. The Eastern German regime has no control

When the Kremlin realized in 1946 that dismantling of Eastern German factories was producing a cumulative detrimental effect upon production for reperations by other factories, it transferred some plants designated for dismantling to Soviet ownership but left them in Eastern Germany to be operated with German labor and raw materials. A few of these plants have since been "sold" to the GIR.

over the SAG plants, which obtain preferential treatment in the procurement of workers and which receive materials on a priority basis at prices fixed below production costs. Most SAG production is delivered to the USSR or exported on Soviet account.

Germany to the USSR consists of the flow of manufactured goods to the USSR. The bulk of this is composed of uncompensated deliveries, which include a large share of the production of the SAG plants, other reparations deliveries from current production of state-owned and private plants, occupation costs, and other services. We estimate that these uncompensated deliveries to the USSR averaged approximately \$2,000,000,000 (in current dollars) annually from 1946 through 1950, roughly the equivalent of the annual average investment scheduled under the Five Year Flan. In 1950, uncompensated deliveries amounted to an estimated 17 percent of net industrial production in Eastern Germany, and 1951/industrial deliveries are estimated at 13 percent of the increased Eastern German net industrial production.

25. The most important goods provided the USSR by Eastern Germany are the following:

a. Uranium ores and concentrates

Eastern Germany in 1950 is estimated to have supplied approximately 45 percent of the Soviet Orbit's uranium ores and concentrates. The Eastern German share in uranium production may have declined slightly in 1951, but Eastern Germany remains the largest single source of fissionable material available to the USSR.

b. Engineering equipment

Eastern Germany exports to the USSR approximately 50 percent of the total annual production of its engineering industries, or an amount equal to about 10 percent of Soviet annual production. Some items, notably equipment for electrical installations and railroads; mining, metallurgical, and metalworking machinery; industrial instruments; and machine tools constitute a particularly important contribution to Soviet industrial and military expansion because of the highly skilled labor involved in their manufacture. The size of the Eastern German engineering industry is illustrated by the fact that its 700 major plants employ about 700,000 workers and contribute about 25 percent of the value of Eastern German industrial production.

c. Synthetic rubber

Eastern Germany exports to the USSR about 50 percent of its synthetic rubber production, or an amount equal to about 10 percent of USSR production. Eastern Germany is the only significant Satellite producer of synthetic rubber, and it makes most of the chemicals used. Its exports to Poland and Czechoslovakia constitute an additional contribution to the Orbit's military potential.

d. Synthetic fuel

cone-third of its synthetic fuel production, or an amount equal to about 25 percent of USSR synthetic fuel production.

The synthetic fuel industry of Eastern Germany is the largest and most highly developed in the world and now produces almost 60 percent more than estimated domestic requirements. The current Eastern German petroleum stockpile exceeds annual production and probably amounts to 50 percent more than the current combined annual needs of the domestic economy and the Soviet occupation forces.

e. Armaments

Eastern Germany for the past three years has been an important manufacturer of small arms, weapons components, and munitions, and it may recently have begun to manufacture heavy armaments equipment, such as T-34 and Stalin tanks.

Although available evidence does not provide data adequate for estimating the current significance of arms production in Eastern Germany, it is clear that Eastern Germany is the largest potential center for armaments manufacture among the Satellites.

Probable Economic Developments in 1952

- 26. The Plan for 1952 schedules an increase in industrial production of approximately 18 percent over the 1951 level; it is probable that the increase in production will not exceed 10 percent, but the level of attainment in the key industries and the key factories, particularly those manufacturing military equipment, may more closely approximate the target percentage. Stockpiling will continue, and Eastern Germany will become an advanced supply area. The number of plants owned and operated by the state will probably increase in 1952.

 All industrial facilities, with the possible exception of some small plants, will probably be state-owned and operated by 1955.
- 27. There is no evidence that the regime plans to increase collectivization in 1952. Present controls are adequate, and collectivization would surely stimulate added opposition.
- 28. Reparations deliveries from Eastern Germany are scheduled to continue through 1965. Uncompensated deliveries

will almost certainly continue through 1952 at approximately the level maintained since 1946, though they will probably be concealed more skillfully. The SAG's could be "sold" to the Eastern German government, with little loss to Soviet control or exploitation and with great propaganda benefit, but there is no swidence that this operation will occur.

Limitations on Eastern German Economic Canabilities

29.

The following de-

ficiencies constitute the most important limiting factors on Soviet economic plans for Eastern Germany:

- a. The planned expansion of industry exceeds the supply of available skilled labor and management and estimated ability to train skilled workers, technicians, and managers. The manpower problem is particularly serious because young technicians and skilled workers management a small but important percentage of the annual managements 250,000 defections to the West.
- b. Eastern Germany lacks adequate supplies of many of the raw materials necessary for a modern industrialized aconomy. High-grade iron ore, coke, copper, lead, sinc, nickel,

chromium, molybdonum, tungsten, causties, sulphur, and pyrites are extremely limited in supply. Most of these raw materials are in short supply throughout the Orbit.

c. Deficiencies in capital equipment also hamper the program. Machine tools, steel-making machinery, and electrical generating equipment are the principal vulnerabilities, and it has been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain these items from the West, even through clandestine trade. Most of the critical equipment needed in Eastern Germany is in short supply throughout the Orbit, but the increase of domestic production as the Five Year Plan progresses should reduce the critical nature of this shortage.

IV. PROBABLE SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Current Scientific Situation

30. Eastern Germany inherited an important portion of Germany's scientific tradition and resources. Although war destruction, emigration, dismantling, the deterioration of laboratory facilities, and Soviet regimentation have hampered scientific development, the number of scientists in Eastern Germany now approximately equals the pre-war figure and the 6 universities, 13 technical schools, and numerous research departments and institutes remain important centers for scientific research and education.

- 31. Scientific research in Eastern Germany since 1945 has been primarily in the applied fields, as distinct from basic or pure research, and has concentrated upon the development of substitute materials and the improvement of processes in heavy industry. Research upon the most important military items, such as the V-2 rocket, was transferred to the USSR in 1947 and 1948. The scientific research upon military items now being conducted in Eastern Germany is under direct Soviet control, while the planning and direction of all other research are the responsibility of the GDR.
- 22. Soviet policy encourages scientific research in Eastern Germany, perticularly by ample allotment of funds for research and by the preferential treatment given scientists. Many scientists have been returned to Eastern Germany from the USSR since 1949. The program to lure scientists from Western Germany has had little success, but the contacts between the scientists of Eastern and of Western Germany do constitute political and scientific benefits for the USSR. Although scientific research in Eastern Germany complements Soviet research in certain fields, such as electronics and bacteriology, the principal benefit to the USSR from Eastern German science is not access to a superior body of knowledge but additional scientific manpower and research facilities.

Probable Scientific Developments

33. Scientific research in Eastern Germany will probably continue along the lines established since 1949. It is probable that in 1952 slightly increased emphasis will be placed upon basic research and that increasing effort will be devoted to research in the fields of electronics and nuclear energy. Although a rapid expansion of enrollment in the educational institutions is planned, the current decline of standards in higher education in Eastern Germany will probably mullify the probable increase in numbers of trained research workers.

V. PROBABLE MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Eastern German Armed Forces

a. Ground Forness

the cadres for a Soviet Zone Army of about 300,000 men, has an estimated strength of 52,000 men, organized into 24 Alert Units, several specialist organizations, and schools. These units have not expanded since November 1950, when they reached their present strength. They are now hampered by inadequate equipment, insufficient training, and low morals, and their present capabilities are very limited. It is estimated that the present units could be enlarged to about 100,000, formed into 8 small

divisions, and prepared for combat in six months, if they
were integrated into Soviet corps. However, a major expansion
of these units in 1952 is considered unlikely because of the
effect such action would have upon the Western integration
and reermanent program and upon the adjacent Satellites.

b. Air Forge

established in January 1951, but evidence available thus far indicates that its functions have been limited to registering luftwaffe veterans and politically reliable young men and to drawing plans for an air force. Some German pilots and orews are probably being trained now in the USSR, but the Kremlin could probably not integrate a German air unit into the Soviet Air Force or form a skilled and reliable Eastern German air force before 1953.

c. Naval Porce

36. The capabilities of the Eastern German maval force are currently limited, and the personnel is not considered completely reliable. Soviet control is being improved through the elimination of all whose loyalty is suspect and through intensive political indostrination courses. The Eastern German maval units probably have been conducting joint coastal defense and minesweeping operations with the Soviet neval forces, and in 1952 they could probably conduct limited anti-submarine, minesweeping, and patrol operations.

Soviet Occupation Forces

- 37. Control of Eastern Germany has pushed the frontiers of the Soviet Orbit deep into the flat coastal plains of north-central Europe. Eastern Germany provides the USSR an advanced base for striking Westward or for parrying an attack upon the Orbit, space for a forward air defense system, and naval bases. Soviet control of the area constitutes a poised threat to all of Western Europe and the Scandinavian Peninsula.
- 38. The bulk of the Soviet forces in the Satellite area is concentrated in Eastern Germany and constitutes the spear-head of Soviet military strength. Soviet ground forces stationed in Eastern Germany number 304,000 men, organized into 22 divisions, which form 4 mechanized and 2 rifle armies. There has been no significant change in the composition or quality of these forces within the past two years, and there is no evidence that any change will occur within the period of this estimate.
- 39. Approximately 1,300 Soviet-manned aircraft are concentrated in Eastern Germany. The movement in the fall of 1951 of Soviet jet fighters from six Eastern German air bases temporarily reduced Soviet air capabilities, but apparently most of these aircraft have now been replaced. The quality of the Soviet air force stationed in Eastern Germany has improved

greatly during 1951: jet fighters have now replaced conventional ones, jet light bombers are appearing, and long-range bombers have been sighted on Eastern German airfields. Of the Soviet-manned aircraft now stationed in Eastern Germany, approximately 750 are jet fighters, 150 light bombers, 270 attack bombers, 90 transports, and 40 reconnaissance planes.

ment and construction in the Satellite area has concentrated most heavily upon Eastern Germany, where 12 airfields can now support sustained, and 13 limited, operations by medium bombers. Six or 7 additional air fields will probably attain this standard by the end of 1952. The Eastern German network is the best equipped in Eastern Europe and provides the most extensive and up-to-date facilities for night-flying and all-weather operations. Moreover, within the past six months, there has been a considerable increase in POL storage facilities and great improvement in the service and repair facilities.

^{1/} These figures are particularly fragile, but a new A-2 examination of the size of the Soviet air units stationed in Eastern Germany is now being completed.

CONCLUSIONS

- Al. The principal Soviet objectives for Eastern Germany are the establishment there of a highly industrialized Satellite state organized along Soviet lines, the integration of that State into the Soviet Orbit, and the development of Eastern Germany as a base from which the drive for a unified Soviet Germany may be maintained.
- We believe not 12. INDEXENDENT that the Kremlin will/relax in any way, or surrender, its present control over Eastern Germany or its program there in order to hamper or prevent the Western program for Western Germany.
- 43. Further consolidation of Communist power, closer integration of Eastern Germany into the Soviet Orbit, and continued progress in increasing industrial production, particularly of heavy industry, will probably be the principal developments in 1952.
- 44. Eastern Germany will continue to make an important economic contribution to the Soviet military potential through serving as a channel for obtaining critical materials and equipment from the West, through providing scientific manpower and research facilities, and particularly through increasing

the flow of its products to the USSR, largely in the form of uncompensated deliveries, which are expected to continue at the rate of \$2,000,000,000 annually. The most important goods provided the USSR by Eastern Germany are uranium ores and concentrates, engineering equipment, and synthetic rubber and fuel.

- 45. The capabilities of the Eastern German Alert Police, which now number approximately 52,000 men, will almost certainly remain limited throughout 1952. The Eastern German Air Force will probably not progress beyond the planning stage, and the capabilities of the naval force will remain minor.
- 46. Control of Eastern Germany has provided the USSR an advanced base for striking westward or for parrying an attack upon the Orbit. Soviet occupation forces include an estimated 1,300 Soviet-manned aircraft and ground forces numbering about 304,000 men, organized into 22 divisions, which form 4 mechanized and 2 rifle armies. These forces constitute the spearhead of the Soviet military threat to Western Europe and the Scandinavian Peninsula.